

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ACDE-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02

INR-07 IO-10 L-02 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03

PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00

NSC-05 BIB-01 EB-07 /095 W
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P R 241506Z MAR 75

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0913

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 0144

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0129

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL AND DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: SUMMARY REPORT FOR PERIOD MARCH
17-23, 1975

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. EAST AND WEST CONTINUED TO PRESENT
STANDARD ARGUMENTATION DURING THE UNEVENTFUL INFORMAL
AND PLENARY SESSIONS OF THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS THIS WEEK.
EASTERN REPS ACCUSED THE WEST OF HARDENING ITS POSITION IN
AN APPARENT EFFORT TO BLOCK PROGRESS IN THE VIENNA TALKS.

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ALLIED REPS STATED THE CASE FOR AN OUTCOME OF APPROXIMATE

PARITY IN GROUND FORCES AND AGAIN PRESSED THE EAST TO DISCUSS DATA. EASTERN REPS, AND THE OFFICIAL WARSAW PACT PRESS, CONTINUED TO PUSH THE FEB. 25 MODIFICATIONS TO THEIR INITIAL REDUCTION STEP PROPOSAL, ALTHOUGH SEVERAL EASTERN REPS BILATERALLY HAVE ADMITTED THAT THE LATEST EASTERN PROPOSALS REPRESENT NOTHING NEW. END SUMMARY.

2. THIS WEEK SAW A CONTINUATION OF THE PATTERN OF STATEMENTS THAT HAVE MARKED INFORMAL AND PLENARY MEETINGS DURING THIS ROUND. IN THE MARCH 18, INFORMAL SESSION, EASTERN REPS AGAIN ACCUSED THE WEST OF BLOCKING PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS THROUGH ADHERING TO POSITIONS WHICH DEPARTED FROM THE AGREED PRINCIPLES OF THE JUNE 1973 COMMUNIQUE. EASTERN REPS ASSERTED THAT THE WESTERN POSITION WAS HARDENING IN AN APPARENT EFFORT TO DELIBERATELY BLOCK THE NEGOTIATIONS. IN THIS CONTEXT, EASTERN REPS AGAIN REFERRED TO US AND FRG FORCE IMPROVEMENTS AND STATED THAT, TAKING ALLIED BEHAVIOR IN THE NEGOTIATIONS TOGETHER WITH THESE DEVELOPMENTS, THEY COULD NOT HELP BUT HAVE DOUBTS ABOUT ALLIED MOTIVES IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

3. UK REP (ROSE) SAID THE WESTERN ASSUMPTION WAS THAT BOTH SIDES WERE NEGOTIATING IN GOOD FAITH AND ADDED THAT BOTH SIDES SHOULD ADHERE TO THIS ASSUMPTION IN THEIR STATEMENTS IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN THE GOOD WORKING RELATIONSHIP IN THE TALKS.

4. GDR REP OESER ASSERTED THAT THE WEST HAD FAILED TO APPRECIATE THE IMPORTANCE OF THE FEB 25 EASTERN PROPOSALS AND AGAIN RAISED THE QUESTION OF WHETHER IT WAS NOT THE INTENTION OF THE WESTERN COUNTRIES TO DEADLOCK THE VIENNA TALKS AND THUS AVOID REDUCTIONS. POLISH REP STRULAK CLAIMED THAT, IN REFUSING TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE FEB 25 EASTERN PROPOSALS AS A GENUINE COMPROMISE, WESTERN REPS WERE STICKING TO, OR EVEN HARDENING, THEIR ORIGINAL POSITION.

5. US REP POINTED OUT THAT THE WEST CONSIDERED
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THE FEB. 25 EASTERN MODIFICATIONS TO BE STRICTLY PROCEDURAL, BECAUSE THEY HAD NOT TAKEN OVER SUBSTANTIVE ELEMENTS OF THE WESTERN POSITION ON THE QUESTION OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET, AND BECAUSE THEIR CONTENT DID NOT DEPART FROM THE ORIGINAL EASTERN POSITION, EITHER AS REGARDS THE SUBSTANCE OF THE "WHOSE FORCES" ISSUE, OR CONCERNING REDUCTIONS AS SUCH. NETHERLANDS REP

STRESSED THE VALUE OF DATA EXCHANGE AS AN ESSENTIAL CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE OF THE FACTS OF THE NEGOTIATING SITUATION AND SAID THAT EASTERN OPPOSITION TO THIS WAS ITSELF AN OBSTACLE TO PROGRESS.

6. DURING THE INFORMAL SESSION, STRULAK ASSERTED THAT THE EAST HAD DEMONSTRATED ITS FLEXIBILITY BY STRONGLY URGING WESTERN REPS TO PROPOSE AMENDMENTS OF THEIR OWN TO EACH OF THE VARIOUS EASTERN PROPOSALS. IN HIS COMMENTS, SOVIET REP KHLESTOV AGAIN RAISED THE EASTERN INITIAL REDUCTION STEP PROPOSAL AND STATED, AS HE HAD DURING DISCUSSION WITH THE WEST AT THE TIME IT HAD ORIGINALLY BEEN INTRODUCED, THAT IF THE WEST WERE PREPARED TO AGREE THAT THERE SHOULD BE AN INITIAL REDUCTION STEP, BUT DID NOT LIKE THE BASIS FOR THIS STEP WHICH THE EAST HAD PROPOSED, THE WEST SHOULD PROPOSE A BASIS OF ITS OWN. STRULAK TWICE MADE THE POINT, APPARENTLY TO DEMONSTRATE HOW EXTREME THE WESTERN POSITION WAS, THAT THE NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS EVIDENTLY WERE UNWILLING TO COMMIT THEMSELVES IN A FIRST AGREEMENT AS TO THE AMOUNT AND TIMING OF THEIR REDUCTIONS EVEN IF THE EAST WERE TO ACCEPT THE WESTERN REDUCTION APPROACH.

7. AT THE MARCH 20 PLENARY SESSION, THE SOVIET REP SIGNALED OUT TWO BASIC OBSTACLES TO PROGRESS: THE REFUSAL OF WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TO ASSUME PRECISE REDUCTION OBLIGATIONS, AND THE WESTERN DEMAND FOR PROPORTIONATELY LARGER EASTERN REDUCTIONS. KHLESTOV REITERATED THAT ALL COMPONENTS OF ARMED
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FORCES, NOT JUST GROUND FORCES, HAD TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT, AND ASSERTED THAT, UNDER THE EASTERN EQUAL PERCENTAGE APPROACH, MANPOWER DISPARITIES IN ANY GIVEN BRANCH OF THE ARMED FORCES WOULD BE REFLECTED IN THE QUANTITY OF REDUCTIONS. IN ARGUING FOR PRECISE WEST EUROPEAN REDUCTION OBLIGATIONS, KHLESTOV

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PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00

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P R 241506Z MAR 75

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

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SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

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AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0129

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL AND DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

INDIRECTLY TOOK ISSUE WITH ALLIED ARGUMENTS CONCERNING
THE UNEQUAL LIMITATIONS IMPOSED BY REDUCTIONS ON
COUNTRIES WITHIN THE AREA AND THOSE OUTSIDE IT.
IN OUTLINING TWO CATEGORIES OF REDUCTION OBLIGA-
TIONS, KHLESTOV SAID THAT THE STATES WHOSE TERRITORIES
LIE WITHIN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS WOULD REDUCE A
PART OF THEIR FORCES AND DEMOBILIZE THOSE REDUCED
CONTINGENTS, WHILE THE COUNTRIES LOCATED OUTSIDE
THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS WOULD WITHDRAW THE TROOPS
THEY HAVE REDUCED TO WITHIN THEIR NATIONAL FRONTIERS.

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8. THE SOVIET PLENARY STATEMENT ALSO CRITICIZED THE ALLEGED

EXCESSIVE WESTERN ATTENTION GIVEN TO THE "ARTIFICIAL" CONCEPT OF GEOGRAPHIC DISPARITIES DURING THE CURRENT ROUND. KHLESTOV CHARACTERIZED AS "STRANGE" THE WESTERN EMPHASIS ON THE DISADVANTAGES INHERENT IN ANY REDUCTIONS AGREEMENT, AS WELL AS ALLIED REFERENCES TO POSSIBLE SITUATIONS INVOLVING CONTRAVENTION OF AN AGREEMENT. HE WARNED THAT TO PURSUE THE LATTER SUBJECT WOULD LEAD INTO DISCUSSION OF MOBILIZATION POTENTIALS. IN CLOSING, KHLESTOV CHARACTERIZED WESTERN POSITIONS IN VIENNA AS RIGID AND OUT OF STEP WITH CURRENT STATE OF EAST-WEST DETENTE.

9. WHILE THE EAST CONTINUED TO PUSH ITS FEB. 25 MODIFIED INITIAL REDUCTION STEP PROPOSAL IN THE INFORMAL AND PLENARY MEETINGS, AS WELL AS IN THE OFFICIAL WARSAW PACT PRESS, SEVERAL EASTERN REPS HAVE ADMITTED TO US BILATERALLY THAT THEY HARBOR NO EXPECTATIONS THAT THE WEST WILL ACCEPT SUCH PROPOSALS AT THIS TIME. DESPITE CURRENT EASTERN COMPLAINTS IN THIS WEEK'S INFORMAL MEETING CONCERNING US AND FRG FORCE IMPROVEMENTS, A SOVIET DELOFF TOLD US BILATERALLY THAT THE EAST HAD NO WISH TO INTERFERE WITH US OR FRG FORCE REORGANIZATION ARRANGEMENTS.

10. FOR THE LAST FEW WEEKS, EASTERN REPS HAVE BEEN EMPHASIZING THEIR STRONG DEMAND THAT ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS UNDERTAKE PRECISE OBLIGATIONS FROM THE OUTSET CONCERNING THE AMOUNT AND TIMING OF THEIR REDUCTIONS. THIS DEMAND IS, OF COURSE, DIRECTED AT BRINGING THE WEST EUROPEANS (AND CANADA), AND PARTICULARLY THE BUNDESWEHR INTO REDUCTIONS, AS WELL AS TO GAINING NATIONAL SUB-CEILINGS ON THOSE FORCES. THIS EASTERN EMPHASIS CONTINUED DURING BILATERALS THIS WEEK. HOWEVER, POLISH REP, POLISH DELOFF, GDR DEP REP AND CZECHOSLOVAK REP HAVE IN THE PAST TEN DAYS ALL INDICATED BILATERALLY TO US DELOFFS THAT THE EAST MIGHT BE SOMEWHAT FLEXIBLE ON THE NATIONAL CEILINGS ISSUE. IN SUBSTANCE, THESE EASTERN REPS HAVE ALL INDICATED THAT THERE MIGHT BE SOME
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"INDIRECT WAY" TO DEAL WITH THEIR CONCERN REGARDING "FUTURE BUNDESWEHR GROWTH." US DELOFFS HAVE REPLIED BY STRESSING THE STRONG WEST EUROPEAN OPPOSITION TO ANY TYPE OF NATINAL CEILINGS AND THE US SUPPORT OF THIS ALLIED POSITION.

11. DURING THE LAST FEW WEEKS, IT ALSO HAS BEEN NOTICEABLE THAT EASTERN REPS HAVE BEEN AVOIDING THEIR EARLIER INSISTENCE ON REDUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS,

PERHAPS IN ORDER NOT TO PLACE THEMSELVES IN THE ROLE OF DEMANDEUR ON THIS TOPIC. THIS WEEK, HOWEVER, POLISH REP STRULAK MADE A FAIRLY POINTED CASE BILATERALLY TO THE UK REP FOR WESTERN NUCLEAR REDUCTIONS. IN A MARCH 20 BILATERAL WITH US DELOFF, REPORTED SEPTEL (NOTAL), CZECHOSLOVAK REP MEISNER MADE AN EXPLICIT PITCH FOR A TACNUC/ASYMMETRICAL GROUND FORCE MIXED PACKAGE OF MBFR REDUCTIONS, AND STRESSED THE NECESSITY FOR REDUCTION OF TACTICAL AIRCRAFT IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS.

12. BELGIAN REP ADRIAENSSEN INFORMED THE AD HOC GROUP THIS WEEK, AFTER RETURNING FROM CONSULTATIONS IN BRUSSELS, THAT HE DID NOT INTEND AT THIS TIME TO INSIST ON THE AHG CHAIRMAN'S READING THE "SCORE" REGARDING PARTICIPATION OF INDIVIDUAL ALLIES IN INFORMAL MEETINGS. HOWEVER, BELGIAN REP ONCE MORE INSISTED, AND THE GROUP AGREED, THAT AN AHG DISCUSSION OF THE BASIC ISSUES INVOLVED IN THE USES OF THE INFORMAL MEETINGS MECHANISM SHOULD OCCUR BEFORE THE SPRING RECESS. RESOR

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